

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 108274

72

ORIGIN IO-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EA-02 /005 R

66610

DRAFTED BY: IO/SCT-MR GALANTO

APPROVED BY: IO-MR KAHN

EA/PRCM-MR HOLMES

----- 017065

P 231852Z MAY 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION IAEA VIENNA PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 108274

FOLLOWING REPEAT HONG KONG 5706 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN
BRASILIA BUENOS AIRES CANBERRA CAPE TOWN LONDON MOSCOW
OTTAWA PARIS ROME TAIPEI TEHRAN TEL AVIV TOKYO PEKING
GENEVA CINCPAC 21 MAY

QUOTE

S E C R E T HONG KONG 5706

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, TECH, IN

SUBJECT: INDIAN NUCLEAR TESTING

REF: STATE 104647

SUMMARY: PEKING PROBABLY WILL NOT TAKE THE LEAD IN OPPOSING
INDIA'S NUCLEAR TESTING NOR ALTER ITS OWN PROGRAM BECAUSE OF
IT. VERY LIKELY THE CHINESE CALCULATE THAT THE TEST WILL NOT
IN THE NEAR-TERM SIGNIFICANTLY CHANGE THE BALANCE OF
NUCLEAR POWER OR THREATEN CHINA. THE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS, HOWEVER, ARE WORRISOME. PEKING
WILL BE RELUCTANT TO EXTEND A NUCLEAR UMBRELLA OVER
PAKISTAN OR TO ASSIST PAKISTAN IN DEVELOPING ITS OWN

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 108274

PEACEFUL NUCLEAR PROGRAM. TO PLACATE THE PAKS, HOWEVER,

THE PRC MAY PROPOSE CAUTIOUS ALTERNATIVES. END SUMMARY.

1. NCNA, MAY 19, CARRIED A BRIEF REPORT WITHOUT COMMENT ON THE INDIAN "NUCLEAR EXPLOSION EXPERIMENT." THE ARTICLE DID NOT CARRY THE OFFICIAL INDIAN CHARACTERIZATION OF THE EXPERIMENT AS "PEACEFUL," BUT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, WE DOUBT PEKING WILL TAKE THE LEAD IN OPPOSING INDIA'S TESTING PROGRAM. IT WILL HOWEVER PUBLICIZE PAKISTAN AND OTHER THIRD PARTY ADVERSE REACTION.

2. ON MAY 20, FOR EXAMPLE, NCNA CARRIED A SHORT AND RELATIVELY TONED-DOWNED ACCOUNT OF PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S MAY 19 PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE SUBJECT. THE REPORT OMITTED REFERENCE TO BHUTTO'S "POLITICAL COUNTERMEASURES" INCLUDING HIS ASSERTION THAT HE WOULD APPEAL TO THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE UNSC FOR A PLEDGE OF PROTECTION AND THAT HE AND FOREIGN SECRETARY AGHA SHAHI WOULD MAKE "URGENT APPROACHES" TO THE CAPITALS CONCERNED, INCLUDING PEKING (LAHORE 731). NCNA ALSO DID NOT REPORT BHUTTO'S STATEMENT ABOUT THE "DIRE NECESSITY" FOR PAKISTAN TO HAVE AN "ACCELERATED AND COHERENT NUCLEAR PROGRAM FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES" AND THAT COUNTRIES THAT REFUSED TO ASSIST WOULD BE CONSIDERED UNFRIENDLY.

3. NEWS OF THE EXPLOSION IS AN UNWELCOME COMPLICATION TO CHINA'S PRESENT DIPLOMATIC GOALS IN SOUTH ASIA. CURRENTLY THE PRC IS PAINTING A POSITIVE PICTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN THE SUBCONTINENT AND DOWNPLAYING INDIA'S THREAT TO ITS NEIGHBORS. PEKING IS ALSO AVOIDING CHARGES OF INDIAN HOSTILITY TOWARDS CHINA. AS WE REPORTED EARLIER, THE PRC IS NOW SEEKING TO TEMPER SINO-INDIAN CONFRONTATION AND TO ENCOURAGE A RENEWED MOVEMENT TOWARD IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS (HONG KONG 3259). MOST RECENTLY, THIS ORIENTATION WAS REFLECTED IN CHINESE STATEMENTS DURING BHUTTO'S VISIT TO PEKING (HONG KONG 5297). A SHARP CAMPAIGN BY THE PRC AGAINST INDIA'S NUCLEAR TEST WOULD RUN COUNTER TO THIS TREND.

4. INDIA'S SUCCESSFUL EXPLOSION WILL PROBABLY HAVE NO DIRECT EFFECT ON PEKING'S OWN NUCLEAR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PLANS. THE PRC, OF COURSE, HAS LONG BEEN INTENT ON BUILDING A SECOND-SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 108274

STRIKE CAPABILITY AS A DETERRENT AGAINST U.S. OR SOVIET NUCLEAR INTIMIDATION OR ATTACK. THE CHINESE PROBABLY DO NOT CALCULATE THAT THE INDIAN BREAKTHROUGH WILL IN THE NEAR-TERM BRING ABOUT SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE BALANCE OF NUCLEAR POWER OR POSE A THREAT TO CHINA. IN THE LONGER-TERM, IF THE INDIAN PROGRAM SHOULD EXPAND, THE PRC WOULD NATURALLY ALTER ITS TARGETING PLANS TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF ANY INDIAN CAPABILITY TO HIT CHINA.

5. MORE IMMEDIATELY WORRISOME ARE THE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF NEW DELHI'S ACHIEVEMENT. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE THE INDIAN TEST MAY TAKE SOME THIRD WORLD CRITICISM AND PRESSURE OFF CHINA FOR ITS OWN TESTING PROGRAM. THE SUCCESSFUL EXPLOSION IN RAJASTHAN, HOWEVER, UNDERSCORES INDIA'S MILITARY PRE-EMINENCE IN THE SUBCONTINENT AND WILL POSSIBLY BOOST INDIA'S CONFIDENCE IN ITS DEALINGS WITH CHINA. PEKING WILL PROBABLY CALCULATE THAT THESE EFFECTS WILL BE MARGINAL AND UNLIKELY TO STIMULATE INDIA INTO ADVENTUROUS ACTS AT LEAST FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS. THE PROBLEM FOR THE PRC WILL BE IN RESPONDING TO PAKISTAN'S SENSE OF INSECURITY AND SPECIFICALLY ITS REQUESTS FOR NUCLEAR GUARANTEES OF SOME SORT AND ASSISTANCE IN PRODUCING ITS OWN "PEACEFUL"EXPLOSION.

6. IN MEETING THIS SITUATION PEKING WILL WANT TO REASSURE PAKISTAN WITHOUT STIRRING UP CONFRONTATION IN THE SUBCONTINENT OR IN SINO-INDIAN AFFAIRS. ALSO, THE CHINESE WILL NOT WANT TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES IN ANY WAY WITH THE SUPERPOWERS IN A MULTILATERAL GUARANTEE. CONSEQUENTLY WE EXPECT THE CHINESE WILL TRY TO DISCOURAGE THE PAKS FROM PURSUING THEIR APPROACH TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL OR FROM SEEKING ADHERENCE OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS TO A MULTILATERAL DECLARATION OF INTENT TO DETER OTHERS FROM NUCLEAR WAR. THE PRC, HOPING TO PLACATE THE PAKS, MIGHT AGREE TO MAKE A VAGUE STATMENT SUGGESTING CHINA'S SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN AGAINST NUCLEAR INTIMIDATION OR BLACKMAIL. PEKING WOULD ALSO PROBABLY WELCOME SIMILAR BUCKING UP OF PAK CONFIDENCE BY THE U.S. AND CENTO AND CONSIDER THIS APPROACH MORE EFFECTIVE THAN SERIOUS MEASURES TO TRY DIRECTLY TO SANCTION INDIA.

7. THE PRC, OF COURSE, HAS DENOUNCED THE NPT AND THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY AND UPHELD THE RIGHT OF ALL COUN-

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 108274

TRIES TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS--PROVIDED, OF COURSE, THEIR INTENTIONS ARE NOT AGGRESSIVE AS DEFINED BY CHINA. AFTER MUCH BADGERING BY SUKARNO FOR NUCLEAR ASSISTANCE, PEKING IN 1965 DECLARED THAT IT WAS UP TO EACH COUNTRY TO DEVELOP THESE WEAPONS ON THEIR OWN. THE CHINESE WE BELIEVE WILL BE RELUCTANT TO OPEN PANDOR'S BOX AND ABANDON THIS POSITION. DIRECT PRC ASSISTANCE WOULD INVITE SIMILAR REQUESTS FROM OTHERS IN THE FUTURE AND INEVITABLY INVOLVE A NET OF RESPONSIBILITIES AND COMMITMENTS IN A NUCLEAR CONTEXT WHICH THE PRC HAS NO DESIRE TO ASSUME. HOWEVER IF PRESSED BY THE PAKS, THE CHINESE MIGHT AGREE TO PROVIDE TECHNICAL TRAINING ON NUCLEAR RESEARCH TO PAK SCIENTISTS.

8. ANOTHER DISTURBING IMPLICATION FOR CHINA IS THE ENCOURAGEMENT WHICH THE INDIAN TEST MIGHT GIVE TO JAPAN TO

KEEP OPEN ITS NUCLEAR OPTION (TOKYO 6566). A STRONGLY
NEGATIVE REACTION FROM PEKING TO THE INDIAN PROGRAM, HOW-
EVER, WOULD NOT NECESSARILY PROMOTE CONTINUED ABSTINENCE
IN JAPAN AND WOULD PROBABLY BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE WITH
INDIA. LIKEWISE ANY DIRECT CHINESE ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN
THREATENING FURTHER TO PROLIFERATE NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES
WOULD PRESUMABLY HAVE AN UNDESIRABLE EFFECT ON TOKYO.
CROSS UNQUOTE RUSH

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BALANCE OF POWER, NUCLEAR TESTS, PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NUCLEAR WEAPONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 MAY 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE108274
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: MR GALANTO
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740129-0872
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740523/aaaaatpq.tel
Line Count: 177
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: STATE 104647
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 MAR 2002 by collinp0>; APPROVED <08 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: INDIAN NUCLEAR TESTING
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, TECH, IN, CH
To: IAEA VIENNA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005